

## Message Text

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11

ACTION EA-14

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 NEA-10 ADP-00 IO-13 T-03 OMB-01 SSO-00

CCO-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 PM-09 NSC-10 SS-14 RSC-01 L-03

H-02 PA-03 PRS-01 INR-09 NSAE-00 SAL-01 GAC-01 RSR-01

ACDA-19 /141 W

----- 023578

O 110615 Z MAR 73

FM AMEMBASSY VIENTIANE

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2967

INFO WHITE HOUSE IMMEDIATE

CIA

DOD

AMEMBASSY BANGKOK

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA

AMEMBASSY PHNOM PENH

AMEMBASSY SAIGON

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

CINCPAC

USDEL FRANCE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 VIENTIANE 1774

E. O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: MOPS, PINS, PFOR, LA

SUBJECT: LPF WANTS TWO PROTOCOLS TO SUPPORT FEBRUARY  
VIENTIANE ACCORD

1. AT DCM'S MEETING WITH LPF VIENTIANE REPRESENTATIVE  
SOTH PHETRASY MARCH 10, LPF LEADER INDICATED THAT  
PRESENT RLG AND LPF NEGOTIATIONS IN THE POLITICAL  
AND MILITARY SUBCOMMITTEES ARE AT AN IMPASSE BECAUSE  
THE TWO SIDES HAVE DIFFERENT CONCEPTS OF WHAT THESE  
TWO GROUPS ARE TO ACCOMPLISH.

2. WHILE THE RLG REGARDS THE BIPARTITE POLITICAL AND MILITARY  
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GROUPS NOW MEETING AS SUBCOMMITTEES OF THE JOINT COMMISSION PRESCRIBED BY THE FEBRUARY VIENTIANE AGREEMENT, LPF INTERPRETATION IS THAT THESE TWO GROUPS ARE MERELY TECHNICIANS WHO HAVE SPECIFIC TASKS OF DRAWING UP ONE POLITICAL AND ONE MILITARY PROTOCOL TO ELABORATE THE DETAILS OF ALL THE ARTICLES WHICH WERE LEFT VAGUE IN THE FEBRUARY AGREEMENT. ONLY AFTER THESE PROTOCOLS HAVE BEEN SIGNED WOULD A JOINT COMMISSION AND POSSIBLY ITS POLITICAL AND MILITARY SUBCOMMITTEES BE ESTABLISHED TO IMPLEMENT THE PROTOCOLS, ACCORDING TO LPF VIEW. THIS INTERPRETATION IS IN VARIANCE WITH RLG VIEW.

3. RLG AGREES THAT END RESULT OF NEGOTIATING PROCESS SHOULD BE SOME SORT OF IMPLEMENTARY PROTOCOL. BUT RLG MAINTAINS THAT AS SOON AS EACH ARTICLE IS AGREED UPON BY PRESENT FORUM, IT SHOULD BE IMPLEMENTED IMMEDIATELY, WHILE DISCUSSIONS BEGIN ON NEXT ARTICLE. THUS, LPF CALLS PRESENT GROUPS NOW MEETING " RESEARCH COMMISSIONS," BECAUSE IT CONSIDERS THEM BODIES WITHOUT INHERENT DECISION MAKING AUTHORITY, WHILE RLG CALLS THEM " SUB- COMMITTEES" TO SIGNIFY THAT THEY INHERENTLY HAVE AUTHORITY TO IMPLEMENT ARTICLES OF BASIC AGREEMENT.

4. IN OUR VIEW, THE IMPASSE OVER THE AUTHORITY AND WORK OF THE COMMITTEES REFLECTS THE DIFFERENCE IN THE BASIC OBJECTIVES OF BOTH PARTIES. THE RLG RIGHTISTS REPRESENTED IN THE NEGOTIATING BODIES WANT IMPLEMENTATION OF A CEASEFIRE AND TROOP- WITHDRAWAL FIRST AND FOREMOST. THEY WOULD BE HAPPY TO GET AGREEMENT AND EXECUTION OF THESE TWO ARTICLES WHILE STALLING ON ALL THE OTHERS. THE LPF, HOWEVER, HAS ALWAYS DEMANDED, AND CONTINUES TO DEMAND, THAT PROGRESS ON POLITICAL AND MILITARY QUESTIONS GO HAND- IN- HAND. IT WOULD BE HAPPY TO STALL ON IMPLEMENTING A CEASEFIRE AND TROOP- WITHDRAWAL UNTIL IT ACHIEVES WRITTEN GUARANTEES IN A TOTAL- PACKAGE PROTOCOL REGRADING ALL ITS POLITICAL AND MILITARY GOALS. THE LPF POSITION IS, OF COURSE, CONTRARY TO THE WISHES OF THE RLG RIGHTISTS, BUT IS MORE IN KEEPING WITH THE BASIC AGREEMENT ITSELF.

5. THE GIST OF SOTH PHETRASY' S REMARKS WAS TO EXPLAIN THE LPF POSITION SO THAT PERHAPS DCM COULD RELAY THEM  
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TO RLG IN EFFORT TO INJECT SOME PROGRESS INTO NEGOTIATIONS.

SOTH POINTED OUT VIETNAM AGREEMENT ALSO HAD FOUR PROTOCOLS FACILITATING IMPLEMENTATION OF OVERALL ACCORD, AND LPF WANTED SAME FOR LAOS. SOTH GAVE IMPRESSION THAT LPF IS GENUINELY INTERESTED IN ADHERING TO THE TIME SCHEDULE SET FORTH IN THE VIENTIANE ACCORD; HE ALSO THOUGHT THAT SOUVANNA PHOUMA AND PHENG WERE DETERMINED TO CARRY OUT ACCORDS. HOWEVER HE FEARED THAT SOME OF THE RIGHTIST ELEMENTS ARE DRAGGING THEIR FEET IN EFFORT TO SCUTTLE OVERALL VIENTIANE ACCORD.

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FM AMEMBASSY VIENTIANE  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2968  
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 VIENTIANE 1774

E. O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: MOPS, PINS, PFOR, LA  
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VIENTIANE ACCORD

6. SOTH SAID THE TWO JOINT WORKING GROUPS SHOULD DRAFT TWO PROTOCOLS:

( A) POLITICAL PROTOCOL WHICH WOULD COVER DETAILS ON THE FORMATION OF THE NEW TEMPORARY COALITION GOVERNMENT SETTING FORTH THE NUMBER OF MINISTRIES AND SECRETARIES OF STATE TO BE ESTABLISHED AS WELL AS THE TOTAL NUMBER OF CABINET POSITIONS. SOTH THOUGHT THAT  
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THE NAMING OF PERSONALITIES TO THE CABINET WOULD NOT BE PART OF THIS PROTOCOL BUT IT MIGHT ALSO INCLUDE QUALIFICATIONS FOR POTENTIAL CANDIDATES. THE POLITICAL PROTOCOL WOULD ALSO GIVE DETAILS ON THE TEMPORARY POLITICAL COUNCIL SUCH AS THE NUMBER OF MEMBERS, QUALIFICATIONS FOR MEMBERSHIP, TERM OF APPOINTMENT, ETC. AGAIN, THE ACTUAL DESIGNATION OF MEMBERS WOULD NOT BE SPELLED OUT IN THE PROTOCOL.

( B) THE SECOND PROTOCOL WOULD COVER MILITARY SUBJECTS AND WOULD DISCUSS MODALITIES ON FOLLOWING 4 TOPICS:  
( A) PROCEDURES FOR IMPLEMENTING CEASEFIRE; ( B) WITHDRAWAL OF FOREIGN FORCES AND FOREIGN MILITARY PERSONNEL FROM LAOS; ( C) REPATRIATION OF PWS OF ALL NATIONALITIES; AND ACCOUNTING FOR MIAS; ( D) THE TWO CONTROL MECHANISMS -- JOINT RLG- LPF COMMISSION AND THE ICC.

7. WHEN WE ASKED SOTH WHAT KIND OF DETAILS SHOULD BE COVERED UNDER THESE INDIVIDUAL TOPICS, HE SAID THAT FOR EXAMPLE UNDER PROCEDURES FOR IMPLEMENTING CEASEFIRE ( POINT A), HE FORESAW MACHINERY FOR OPPOSING FIELD COMMANDERS TO WORK OUT WAYS OF AVOIDING VIOLATIONS, WITHDRAW TO NEW POSITIONS TO AVOID CONFLICT, AGREE ON MODALITIES FOR RESUPPLYING POSITIONS IN AREAS CONTROLLED BY THE OPPOSING FACTION, ETC.

8. AS FOR THE WITHDRAWAL OF FOREIGN FORCES ( POINT B), SOTH WAS THINKING IN TERMS OF LISTING ALL FOREIGN FORCES AND MILITARY PERSONNEL IN LAOS. DCM REPLIED THAT THIS WAS NOT PRACTICAL APPROACH IF LPF REALLY WISHED TO NEGOTIATE PROTOCOL. SOTH ASKED WHETHER DCM HAD ANY SUGGESTION OF HOW WITHDRAWAL OF FORCES COULD BE CONTROLLED AND ACCELERATED.

9. DCM REPLIED THAT PERHAPS ONE APPROACH WAS TO SET A SPECIFIC CALENDAR FOR WHEN ALL FOREIGN MILITARY PERSONNEL HAD TO BE WITHDRAWN IN A SPECIFIC MILITARY REGION. WHEN THIS DAY ARRIVED BOTH THE JOINT LAO COMMISSION TO

IMPLEMENT THE AGREEMENT, OR ITS SUBCOMMITTEE, AND THE  
ICC WOULD GO TO THAT PARTICULAR MILITARY REGION  
AND BY ON THE SPOT INSPECTION WOULD NOTE THE PRESENCE OR  
ABSENCE OF FOREIGN FORCES. SINCE BOTH SIDES KNOW WHERE  
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THEIR PRESENT FOREIGN ALLIES ARE LOCATED, BOTH SIDES  
WOULD ASCERTAIN THAT THE RIGHT SITES WOULD BE VISITED  
BY THE CONTROL COMMISSIONS. FOR EXAMPLE, THE FIVE  
MILITARY REGIONSWOULD HAVE A DIFFERENT CALENDAR AND  
THE SPECIFIC DATE WOULD BE NOTICE ON THE FOREIGN FORCES  
TO BE OUT OF THAT REGION AND OUT OF LAOS WHEN THE  
INSPECTION IS TO OCCUR. DCM ALSO STRESSED THAT  
OBVIOUSLY THE LAO CONTROL COMMISSION AND ICC WOULD HAVE  
TO HAVE ACCESS TO BOTH ZONES FROM THE MEKONG ALL  
THE WAY TO THE LAO- VIETNAMESE BORDER. DCM THOUGHT  
THAT THE LISTING OF FOREIGN MILITARY UNITS IN A PROTOCOL  
WAS UNREALISTIC AND PROBABLY CONTRARY TO THE WISHES OF  
THE ALLIES OF BOTH LPF AND RLG. SOTH TOOK NOTE OF THIS  
SUGGESTION.

10. ACCORDING TO SOTH, THE SECTION OF THE PROTOCOL  
DEALING WITH PWS WOULD COVER DETAILS SUCH AS THE LIST  
OF PWS HELD, WHERE AND HOW THEY WOULD BE RELEASED AND  
WOULD ALSO INCLUDE MACHINERY FOR SEARCHING FOR MIAS.

11. FINALLY THE SECTION ON THE CONTROL COMMISSIONS  
( POINT 4) WOULD SET FORTH THE NUMBER OF MOBILE AND  
FIXED TEAMS TO BE FIELDDED BY THE JOINT LAO CONTROL  
COMMISSION AND THE ICC AS WELL AS THEIR EMPLACEMENTS.  
SOTH SAID SO FAR RLG HAS ONLY SHOWED INTEREST IN DIS-  
CUSSING THIS LAST POINT, WHILE LPF WISHED TO COVER ALL  
FOUR POINTS IN THE PROTOCOL.

12. FOLLOWING THE MEETING WITH SOTH, DEAN DISCUSSED  
THE GIST OF ABOVE CONVERSATION WITH TOP RLG NEGOTIATOR  
PHENG PHONGSAVAN WHO HAD JUST RETURNED FROM LUANG  
PRABANG WHERE HE SAW SOUVANNA PHOUMA. PHENG WAS GRATEFUL  
FOR GETTING THIS CLARIFICATION OF THE DIFFERENCES IN  
APPROACH BETWEEN RLG AND LPF IN PRESENT STAGE OF  
NEGOTIATION. HE SAID SOUVANNA HAD INSTRUCTED HIM TO  
SEE PHOUNE SIPRASEUTH WHO HAD JUST RETURNED FROM SAM NEUA  
TO FIND OUT IF THERE IS ANYTHING NEW. AFTER SEEING  
PHOUNE HE WOULD REPORT TO SOUVANNA WHO IS EXPECTED BACK  
IN VIENTIANE ON MONDAY, MARCH 12. PHENG DID NOT DISMISS  
LPF PROPOSAL FO DRAFTING TWO CLARIFYING PROTOCOLS.  
IN THAT CASE DCM URGED HIM THAT IF RLG DECIDED TO TAKE  
THIS ROUTE, THIS TIME RLG MUST NOT BE OVERTAKEN BY LPF  
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TABLING A DOCUMENT WHICH WOULD FORCE RLG TO WORK FROM  
LPF DRAFT. RATHER RLG SHOULD QUICKLY COMMIT TO PAPER  
ITS POSITION ON ALL THESE POINTS AND THEN PERSUADE LPF  
TO DISCUSS THE GOVERNMENT DRAFTS.

13. PHENG SAID HE WOULD KEEP US INFORMED AFTER HIS  
MEETINGS WITH PHOUNE AND SOUVANNA.  
GODLEY

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\*\*\* Current Handling Restrictions \*\*\* n/a

\*\*\* Current Classification \*\*\* CONFIDENTIAL

## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** X  
**Capture Date:** 01 JAN 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:**  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 11 MAR 1973  
**Decaption Date:** 01 JAN 1960  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** smithrj  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1973VIENTI01774  
**Document Source:** CORE  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** n/a  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** GDS  
**Errors:** n/a  
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**Legacy Key:** link1973/newtext/t19730325/aaaahmkp.tel  
**Line Count:** 295  
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE  
**Office:** ACTION EA  
**Original Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 6  
**Previous Channel Indicators:**  
**Previous Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Reference:** n/a  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Authority:** smithrj  
**Review Comment:** n/a  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 19 SEP 2001  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review History:** RELEASED <19-Sep-2001 by freemaal>; APPROVED <17-Oct-2001 by smithrj>  
**Review Markings:**

Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
30 JUN 2005

**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Referrals:** n/a  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** <DBA CORRECTED> jms 971119  
**Subject:** LPF WANTS TWO PROTOCOLS TO SUPPORT FEBRUARY VIENTIANE ACCORD  
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**To:** EA  
**SECSTATE WASHDC**  
**Type:** TE  
**Markings:** Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005